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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

5 August 1957

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SUBJECT: NIE 10-57: ANTI-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE POTENTIAL IN THE  
SINO-SOVIET BLOC

1. The attached terms of reference were agreed on at the meeting of the IAC representatives on 5 August.
2. All agencies are invited to contribute to any section within their competence to do so.
3. It is requested that contributions be received according to the following schedule:

Bulgaria, Albania	9 September
Hungary, East Germany	23 September
Rumania, North Korea	7 October
Czechoslovakia,	
Communist China	21 October
USSR	4 November
Poland, North Vietnam	18 November

4. Country drafts will be circulated to RIC members as they are finished and should be coordinated by the RIC by the end of January 1958.

*William P. Bundy*

WILLIAM P. BUNDY  
Deputy Assistant Director  
National Estimates

Distribution "B"

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C E N T R A L   I N T E L L I G E N C E   A G E N C Y

5 August 1957

SUBJECT:   TERMS OF REFERENCE:   NIE 10-57:   ANTI-REGIME RESISTANCE  
POTENTIAL IN THE SINO-SOVIET BLOC

THE PROBLEM

To appraise the bases, intensity, and distribution of anti-regime  
dissidence and resistance in Sino-Soviet Bloc countries.

SCOPE

This estimate will cover the USSR, the Satellites, Communist China,  
North Korea, and North Vietnam. Contributions should be organized on a  
country-by-country basis to permit their use in a series of separate  
country papers; <sup>\*</sup> these in turn will provide a basis for the general  
estimate. The terms used to describe various forms of resistance should  
be those defined in the Introductory Note of NIE 10-55.

Account should be taken of resistance which may operate within  
Communist parties and mass organizations as well as of that which is overtly  
anti-Communist.

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\* In the case of the USSR contribution, separate analyses should be made for  
the Baltic States, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus.

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QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

I. BASIC ELEMENTS AND EXTENT OF DISSIDENCE

- A. Discuss the economic, political, and social factors which create ill-will toward the regime: e.g., persecution of socio-economic, religious, or ethnic groups, economic controls, economic distress, political controls, the regime's attacks on traditional values and practices, encroachments of the USSR and Communist China on national sovereignty, nationalist sentiments, etc.
- B. In what elements of the population is dissidence and actual or potential resistance found; e.g., in what religious, economic, political, military, ethnic, rural, urban, age, or occupational groups, or other categories?
- C. How intense is dissidence and to what extent does it provide a favorable popular setting for actual resistance activity? Intensity of resistance as related to topography?
- D. Is resistance directed against Communism per se, Soviet domination or against the native regime?
- E. What trends in the basis and intensity of dissidence have been in evidence as a result of new policies adopted after the death of

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Stalin? How has the appearance of ideological differences and factionalism within the Communist parties affected the attitudes and opportunities of potential resistance? Particularly, have the events of Oct.-Nov. 1956 in Poland and Hungary <sup>and subsequent events elsewhere</sup> increased or decreased the possibility of rebellion?

II. RESISTANCE ACTIVITIES TO DATE

- A. What has been the history of resistance groups and their activities since the death of Stalin?
- B. What organized resistance groups are believed to exist now? In addition to identifying the groups, indicate:
  - 1. Numerical strength, internal discipline, training and cohesion, facilities, and equipment, etc.
  - 2. Character and background of leadership.
  - 3. Political orientation, e.g., nationalist, Titoist, anti-US.
  - 4. Area of operation.
  - 5. Trend of strength and activity.
  - 6. Immediate and ultimate objectives under peacetime and wartime conditions.

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7. Extent of infiltration into armed forces, bureaucracy, war industry, etc.
8. Type and extent of activity to date, including active (sabotage, intelligence collection etc.), passive (slowdown, etc.).
- C. What is the extent and nature of unorganized resistance (active and passive)? By what elements of the population is it displayed? How is it manifested? What trends appear in its prevalence or type of manifestation?
- D. To what extent has organized and unorganized resistance been guided and materially assisted by emigre groups? Other external sources?
- E. By what means does the regime seek to inhibit or counter dissidence and resistance organization and activities? How effective are these measures and what is the trend of their effectiveness?
- F. Capability of individual regime to suppress revolt unaided by Soviet Union or other satellites? Reliability of local armed forces for this purpose?
- G. Consequences of modifications in security apparatus and popular attitude toward it?

### III. RESISTANCE POTENTIAL UNDER CONDITIONS OF PEACE

- A. What types and levels of resistance activity are now within the capability of organized resistance groups? Within the capability of unorganized resistance?
- B. To what extent are organized resistance groups capable of expanding the types and increasing the level of resistance activity? Can unorganized resistance take new forms and increase in effectiveness?

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- C. What would be the effect on resistance of the following:
1. A marked increase or decrease in East-West tensions?
  2. Ideological disputes or factional struggle within the Soviet or other Communist regimes?
  3. Improvement or worsening of economic conditions?
  4. Relaxation or intensification of security controls and police terror?
  5. External support by governments or groups, both overt and covert?

IV. RESISTANCE POTENTIAL IN WAR

- A. Under conditions of open warfare (local or general) what states  
between Bloc and non-Bloc/  
would be the capabilities of anti-regime resistance for  
initial and for sustained action of the following types?
1. Intensification of resistance activities of the types covered under II and III.
  2. Independent military action. To what extent would this capability depend on outside support?

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3. Assistance to enemy forces, in:

- (a) Military or political warfare (including sabotage, etc.).
- (b) Evasion and escape.
- (c) Intelligence collection.

B. How would the capabilities indicated in 1, 2 and 3 above be affected by:

- 1. The stage or trend of military action within or outside the country at the time? (e.g., whether military action was actually taking place within the country or area in question, or whether one side or the other appeared to be gaining).
- 2. Nationality of attacking forces.
- 3. Attitudes and actions of regimes and resistance groups in other Bloc countries. Possibilities for cooperation among resistance groups in one or several countries.
- 4. Circumstances surrounding initiation of hostilities: e.g., which side was held responsible for such initiation?
- 5. Use of nuclear weapons?
- 6. Occupation policies of attacking forces?
- 7. Aspiration of individual resistance factions for postwar leadership.